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ABSTRACT

This paper describes research that attempted to discover and describe the socialization process in school administrative careers that support or hinder women's decision-making for a career in school administration. After a theoretical framework was set up, twenty-five successful women administrators were interviewed and the data were analyzed. One contribution of the research was a description of female career-role strain. Another contribution was the conceptualization of the progression in women's careers from culturally defined roles, through transition, to self-defined roles and delineation of the processes whereby women are denied equal access to informal socialization. The result was a model of career progression that emphasizes the importance of the transition period for women who aspire to or who fill higher positions in school administration. (Author/LD)

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CAREER SOCIALIZATION OF WOMEN IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Session 11.04

A Paper Presented to the Special Interest Group: Research on Women in Education, at the Annual Conference of the American Educational Research Association, April 1979

by

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The percentage of women in school administration continues to decline. Only 2% of high school principals, 3.5% of junior high principals, and 21% of elementary principals are women. Less than 1% of superintendents and less than 6% of assistant, deputy, and associate superintendents are women. (American Association of School Administrators, 1975)

Most research and corrective action on this unequal participation and underutilization has aimed at discovering and correcting biased selection processes. This research sought, instead, to discover and describe the socialization processes in the school administrative career that support or hinder women's decisionmaking for a career in school administration.

The focus on socialization processes was indicated by the failure of affirmative action policies that focus on bias in formal selection practices and by a review of related literature.

Theory and empirical research on career socialization and mobility, on the school administrative career, and on women in careers were combined to form a theoretical framework. The research question was derived from this framework as were the guiding hypotheses and interview questions. The theoretical framework was the backdrop for data analysis. Twenty-five successful women administrators were interviewed. Open-ended interviewing insured that

socialization processes would emerge from the subject's experiences. Data collection and analysis went hand in hand. As commonalities emerged in the data, interviewing became more directive. Through this methodology, rich and deep data were collected, and major concepts emerged. The concept of female career-role strain was described. The conceptualization of the progression in women's careers (or lack thereof) from culturally defined, through transition, to self-defined roles, and delineation of the processes whereby women are denied equal access to informal socialization are important contributions of this research.

This paper describes women's career decisionmaking and socialization in the context of female career role strain and develops a model of career progression.[1]

This research report cannot detail all the concepts or include the rich illustrative quotes. Informal socialization structures include the sponsor-protege relationship, opportunities for task-learning, the tap on the shoulder, the role model. (Merton, 1964, Valverde, 1974, Breer and Locke, 1965.) Female career-role strain refers to the pressure to fulfill women's roles and conflicting career roles.

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[1]A full account of the theory, methodology and complete findings can be found in Career Socialization of Women in School Administration, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation by Catherine Marshall, (University of California, Santa Barbara, 1979).

Model of Career Development

Because the administrative career is male sex-typed, and because entry and career development requires overcoming barriers in the career environment and facing female career-role strain, woman's career development demands progression through a special socialization. The progression begins with women filling culturally defined roles. It continues through transition, when roles change, -- and may be thought of as completed when women fill self-defined roles. (See Figure 1.) Each of these three categories contains two interconnected, but herein delineated components:

1. self-sent roles, and
2. organizational roles.

Figure 2 illustrates the components. Culturally defined women's self-sent roles are a direct product of their total cultural socialization. Female socialization teaches and rewards women for dependence, devotion to helping others, child orientation, and for their attractiveness to men. Culturally defined women's organizational roles are in areas and ranks which fit societal assumptions for their characteristics -- in school organizations, women's culturally defined role is teacher. Their motivations and rewards center around their child orientation and the opportunity to serve others in a

job yet still fill other societally-rewarded roles as wife, mother, and community woman.

Self-defined women have self-sent roles that have emerged from a creative, individualized process. Their behaviors and attitudes have been purposefully chosen and designed for and by themselves. Their self-images are derived from self-assessments of performance on self-determined criteria. Their rewards come from within, when they experience the comfort and satisfaction of meeting their own expectations. Self-defined women's organizational roles are in areas and ranks which they have sought and where they define their own criteria of success. In school organizations, women's self-defined roles could be anything from cafeteria worker, to teacher, to State Superintendent of Schools -- the key determinant being which position they choose, given open access and freedom from career-role strain. Whatever position self-defined women fill, they choose their own behaviors and attitudes to fill the role demands.

Transition

The change processes of transition have to be powerful and deep seated to effectuate such change from culturally defined to self-defined. The change processes of transition are a special socialization process for women in school administration.

Transition is the stage in a career woman's development when she faces female career-role strain and, if incentives

are strong enough, she assertively seeks and develops techniques to manage the strain. The decisionmaking for the administrative career, both the go/no go decision and the decision on degree of commitment, occurs during transition. The decision is an outcome of the interplay between career environment socialization structures, supports, and incentives, and personal career orientation. However, women's access to the salient socialization structures is limited. Transition is the ongoing progression of the career woman from the culturally defined roles for women toward a self-definition that will allow her to fill administrator roles successfully and still be comfortable with herself as a woman.

Women are expected to fill roles as community woman, wife, mother, and sexual being that would disqualify them for administration. For example, filling mother roles requires them to be at home rather than attending evening meetings--their socialized feminine sexuality may interfere with the male administrator team and inhibit performance on tough tasks--expectations that they support community projects, usually on weekday mornings, expectations that they make sacrifices to buttress their husbands' careers would leave little motive or energy for filling the expectations of the administrator role.[2]

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[2]For full explication of female career-role strain, see Career Socialization of Women in School Administration, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation by Catherine Marshall, (University of California, Santa Barbara, 1979).

Women cannot respond appropriately to socialization structures in the career environment, nor can they make a clear decision to commit themselves to the administrative career until they face the conflicting demands and develop techniques to make the conflict manageable. If they are able to do this, they make the progression from cultural definition toward increasing self-definition, reducing discomforting guilt over not performing "women's roles" and enhancing competence and comfort on the job.

Facing the task of learning new roles and finding structures, behaviors, and attitudes that facilitate an integration of the female and career roles is traumatic. It involves breaking away from rewarding patterns, devaluing old beliefs, a period of searching and creating.[3]

This transition concept emerged early in data collection and analysis. The recollections of Mrs. Theordore[4] are worth quoting to illustrate the breakdown of the old, the confusion, the formulations of the new:

> I had a daughter, I was going through a divorce, felt I had to choose a profession where I wouldn't have to be away from her all the time. Most of the women teachers would just go to class, teach, and go home and live their lives; I was single at the time so I had a lot of time to devote to my work. Most of energy and friends were

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[3]Van Gennep, (1906) described cultural rituals which make transition an event. Transition periods have ceremonies in which old beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors are destroyed, and new ones are learned.

[4]Subjects were given fictitious names for the research reports.

> school related. I had no personal life. I didn't hesitate because of the issue of how men see competent women because I'd decided I wasn't going to remarry, anyway. When I went through my single years, there was a lapse there when I was involved in personal development, adjustment. I had no choice, it was a necessary period, to reconnoitre, it was a passage, it took time, settling into another life style. I couldn't concentrate on a career or anything beyond the classroom at that time. I was thinking through the single-parent problem, establishing a new life, new friends, it was a total adjustment. I didn't do a lot, took Psychology classes, joined social clubs, travelled, seeking the Knight in Shining Armor.

She described this as a passage, with connections to old patterns, such as continued search for the Knight in Shining Armor, and with search for new patterns, a new life style. Her transition continued during her first administrative positions:

> I've had a problem saying "no" when people ask me to do things, I knew it was a weakness. The first year I'd take problems home with me, I had to learn not to do that, how to handle irate parents chewing me out, and not take it personally. It was a cultural shock. I felt alone, didn't know how to cope, where I could go. I got high blood pressure, no sleep, nerves. My doctor said, "you'd better be sure what you want;" it was like I couldn't keep focus. I did a lot of thinking, things began falling into place, I was more relaxed; then I went through it all again when I changed positions, my hands broke out in rashes.

Encountering this cultural shock alone, with no guidance, no delineated patterns to follow caused mental and physical breakdown. She had made the decision for administration, after years of resisting taps on the shoulder and she attained entry as Dean. However, inadequate socialization and non-incorporation into the administrative group left her floundering, still searching for management techniques for female career-role

strain, and isolated from administrative group members who could teach her the appropriate attitudes and behaviors to be comfortable in her new status.

When women's roles offer high reward, the conflicting career roles may fall by the wayside. Dr. Howe had a seven-year hiatus in her career development. Her principal gave her an unsatisfactory evaluation, and she reacted by resigning and having another child. A change in incentive, reward, and support systems may greatly affect women's decisionmaking for or against the administrative career.

The transition period of breaking down of the old and creating of new behaviors, attitudes, and supports varies in intensity and duration. For Ms. Epstein it has been a twenty-year process. Dr. Gold commented that she does not yet see herself in "that role of professional woman" even after years in administration.

Ms. Wilson, after resisting the decision for administration, was in the midst of transition, in her first year in administration:

> I answer phones, but I'm getting away from that; I refuse to arrange transportation, rooms. Lots of people are resentful, but I decided that I'm here to do a job; I'm not going to do secretarial work. When secretaries were gone and the boss was in, the phone would ring, and I'd just let it ring and ring... these little things are very significant; it's hard to have the strength to stand up to it. My image of myself is important. If I act like a secretary, then I'll be one. It's very difficult to work out my relations with the women secretaries. It's hard to tell them to do some menial job that I'm refusing to do. I have to keep reminding myself what I'm paid for;

> I have learned to be hard-nosed by being sure of what I'm doing and doing it. I have let myself be rolled over by teachers, gals in the office, principals... I have to be more assertive, convinced that what I'm doing is right.... It's all attitude, I let people tell me what to do because I think they perceive me as not being sure of what I want to do. I started to reinforce myself that I know what I want to do, I know what's important and do it, that was the hardest thing working as a female administrator. People don't automatically assume that you have authority' so if you don't exude it, you don't have it. As a woman, I have to work to maintain authority and respect; men get it automatically. When I'm the only woman at a meeting, I'm scared! I take deep breaths, remind myself that I'm the only one here who has this expertise, that I really do know what I want...but it is tough. I'm a women's libber, but I get into this other role, and I have to watch that...I get mad at myself...something happens, and I get cute instead of professional. When I'm really nervous and they make some remark, I feel like I have to respond...I want to be nasty back, but I can't.

She must fight the urge to retain close identity with the secretaries to break away from her old patterns, but when she throws away the old behaviors, new behaviors are awkward. The transition period is a period of confusion, breaking down of old patterns, and the experimentation when women are encountering intense strain and learning management techniques. The techniques enable women to overcome organizational and self-sent barriers that can obstruct entry and slow-mobility for women in administrative careers. The techniques make the role strain tolerable and the barriers surmountable.

Transition processes are delineated in Figures 3, 4 and 5. Figure 3 identifies transition barriers, Figure 4 charts attributes which accentuate barriers, and Figure 5 charts

attributes which support transition around and through the barriers. Organizational and self-sent components and sources are delineated for analysis.

Text and quotations which follow serve to illustrate these charts. They tell the story of the processes by which women overcome, circumvent or minimize self-sent and organizational barriers.

Transition Processes

Women must develop techniques to face organizational realities such as the extra testing they encounter, the exclusion and unfair treatment, and the techniques to perform a job competently when the standards of competence are male structured.

Denial is one management technique. This emerged from analysis of the interviews with two subjects who said they had never been discriminated against but who later recalled noticing resentment from men, exclusion from informal interactions, and others making stereotyped assumptions about their inabilities. Denial served to hold anger in abeyance while these women developed constructive management techniques.

Getting inspiration from negative signals and unfair treatment is a positive management technique. A dose of mistreatment may challenge a woman. Dr. Cooper's Dean discouraged her from seeking the doctorate. Her response was, "I just said phooey! I knew he was an M.C.P." Another Dean predicted

to Mrs. Miner that she'd never finish since he felt that married women are not committed to career goals. Her anger energized her drive to complete her Bachelor's degree. When Dr. Astin's fellowship committee wrote to suggest that she should discontinue working for her doctorate since things were tough, she tacked that letter on her door as a challenge to herself. These women faced discouraging, discriminatory situations and used their anger constructively rather than striking at the system. Women who persist when faced with these harsh realities learn to work within the system. Dealing with harsh realities prepared these women for games-playing and the internal politics of school organizations. The attitudinal adjustment prepared them for other realities. Ms. Bass spoke of learning about "the rumor game," and about getting upset over a group of men ganging up to change sabbatical criteria--she learned "team playing," "making a play" for set goals. Dr. Peratis learned about being given "the standard line" by her Superintendent. This is essential socialization. Women will have to confront tough tasks, perform silly tasks, compromise ideals, establish priorities. Their female socialization often "protects" them from harsh realities. When they are excluded from the usual informal socialization processes, they must learn appropriate behaviors and attitudes on their own. This is more difficult when the entry level positions require women to perform onerous duties loyally. Enforcing

dress codes by measuring skirt lengths, handling candy sales--these duties test a woman's capacity for loyalty to their organization--they must pass this test.

Being tough, setting standards and priorities, making demands, being critical, are behaviors necessary for administration but opposite to female socialization. Most women must experiment, seek help, or discover just by chance, techniques for managing the strain caused by the conflict between administrator behaviors and "nice lady" behaviors. Ms. Weiss and Miss Thelan learned as teachers that you can't please everyone, that being competent and fair is more important than popularity. Ms. Weiss' comment, "I'm still mobile if they don't like how it's being done," does not reflect typical female socialization, but rather it reflects the management technique she has developed as an administrator. The women recalled developing management techniques when they were forced to evaluate, discipline, and take leadership. Ms. Bass felt like crying when she gave out unsatisfactory evaluations, but she "learned to understand that...I've got to help them with their problem, but I'm not going to take on their guilt." Ms. Wilson constantly reminded herself that she was being paid to take on leadership roles, to tell principals what to do--she had to take deep breaths to carry it out. Mrs. Bennis found the disciplinarian tasks upsetting but adapted after talking to other administrators. When Mrs. Theodore had problems saying

"no" and dealing with irate parents, she found techniques by watching another Dean. Dr. Kelley allowed various people to interrupt her work, listened intently to their concerns, then skillfully closed off conversations. Ms. Bass cut off intrusive conversation with an overly friendly janitor without offending him. These behaviors allow women to retain some of their "womanly" openness and friendliness without compomising job performance. When women can be professional, get business accomplished efficiently without feeling guilty about being pushy, unfeminine, or unfriendly, they have developed female career-role strain management techniques. These women had to find or create their own training settings to learn behaviors and attitudes that conflicted with their prior socialization.

The female career-role strain of facing tough tasks is lessened when designated authority or expertise buttresses women. Ms. Epstein spoke of a time when she thought she would lose her mind from worry over her decisions. Learning to "operate under the umbrella of the law" eased this strain. Mrs. Rossi "had to be very tough" in personal situations. She was more comfortable when she learned from a consultant firm how to use legal procedures to buttress a decision. All administrators must learn to handle tough tasks, but for women this learning conflicts with prior socialization. In addition, the learning occurs in an organization where they have unequal access to informal socialization supports, and where they must

make extra efforts to get recognition of their authority and competence.

When women administrators develop the capacity to effectively demand recognition, responsibility and authority and become comfortable doing so, they have created the career-role strain management techniques of self-defined women. Several subjects described their struggles to manage the strain. Ms. Murray had to fight for areas that were her responsibility. As an Assistant Principal she was treated as an assistant to the other Assistant Principals. A professor advised her to tell the other administrators that she had to write up a delineation buttressed her demands for responsibility when the men tried to "protect" her from difficult tasks.

Some "male" behaviors are expected for the appearance of competence in administration. Mrs. Brown learned to "yell a lot, show anger...use four-letter words" to get district office to do things for her. She laughed as she described how she would write a sweet little note thanking them later. Finding a balance that retains the advantages of the respect for "feminine niceness" and yet includes enough aggressiveness to get things done is a necessary management technique. Lacking physical bulk, athletic prowess, a deep voice, even pants pockets could make a women seem less competent in a male sex-typed career. Mrs. Rossi sensed the expectation that elementary principals should play baseball with the kids, that they should be big, strong men to handle discipline. She never tried to

play baseball or use physical discipline--rather she developed her own definition of her role. Women administrators in high schools develop techniques to handle physical danger. As Mrs. Theodore said:

> When there's a bloody fight, I hesitate to rush in but I do. I find other ways than what men do. I can't just step into the middle of it.

Those "other ways" include developing a procedure for support in crises and using discipline procedures with no physical threat. Techniques for managing the career-role strain caused by the expectation for "male behaviors" are successful when they allow women to do the task required but by their own procedure or when the woman is comfortable with non-performance because she has determined that the expectation is inappropriate, (i.e., playing baseball, spanking kids).

Women who can set career goals, promote themselves and make choices to achieve goals have overcome female socialization for modesty and passivity while developing essential female career-role strain management techniques. Many of the subjects denied behaving a certain way to get superiors' attention for promotion or they discussed doing so with a guilty look. Yet this self-promotion is essential for mobility in school administration. Women who do GAS[5] learned its effects incidentally, noticing favorable results to some of their behaviors,

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[5]Griffiths, et al. (1964) described this essential self-promotion in school organization and label it, "GASing," Getting the Attention of Superiors.

or they learned by trial and error, as when Dr. Gold finally realized that she was wasting energies on unimportant committees so she got on the important ones. Mrs. Theodore's habit of going to her principal and giving her opinions on programs had the effect of GASing for promotion from teacher to Assistant Principal.

Aspiring women must develop these female career-role strain management techniques, in a career environment which offers them only limited access to systems of socialization and support.

When the career environment gives little support, other organizations may provide substitute socialization. Universities play a vital role for career socialization of women administrators by providing testing, feedback, support, and recognition. Even though research fails to link advanced degrees with administrative and leadership ability, the subjects in this research found university experiences supported their career decisionmaking. They spoke of the nice payoff of getting good grades, working with adults, the interchange with bright people as stimuli toward administration.

University placement offices and professors offered career guidance. Dr. Cooper was encouraged by the Placement Director to apply for positions farther away from home, and he was very supportive. Without that she might not have considered such options. Mrs. Carnegie recalled strong

encouragement to take part in the profession and to maintain a broad base. Dr. Peratis said it might not have occurred to her to get her doctorate if a man at the nearby university had not told her that she had potential. Mrs. Miner had a professor who supported her, kept looking for positions; in effect, he sponsored her. Mrs. Holter had the direct sponsorship of her university Dean and the President, who always introduced her as "somebody he had raised". Throughout her 35-year career they have supported her mobility to Assistant Superintendent.

The universities may have positions which provide a step on the career ladder, exposure to administrative tasks, and supportive feedback. Supervision of Student Teachers and Demonstration Teacher positions had this effect for two subjects.

Receiving fellowships for advanced study and/or working for a doctorate fosters the determination for successful administrative careers. Dr. Astin's three-year fellowship allowed her to complete her degree and get experience in organizational development, categorical aid programs, designing university programs, and consultant work. Her career growth reflected the experience; she is Curriculum Director at age thirty-five. Ms. Epstein's four consecutive fellowships encouraged "a break from old strings...just what I needed professionally."

University experiences were not all positive. Several women recalled being advised to lower expectations. Course-work was not as meaningful as task-learning on the job for some women. The courses that were effective were those that raised awareness of informal organizational processes and human interaction. Dr. Gold described learning about patterns of organization from a cultural anthropologist who had the students do self-analysis and an analysis of their districts. Several others found value in management training and counseling courses where the training for human interaction, for conflict resolution processes, for organizing and prioritizing activities provided skills and information that was essential. Mrs. Miner found the in-basket simulations to be silly but she realized later that they were effective. When university experiences approach administration from a wider perspective derived from organizational theory, when skills in analysis of issues are emphasized, when course-work includes opportunities to practice as well as read about the importance of informal organization, then the university course work is valuable. Such courses facilitate women's transition to administrator-appropriate behaviors and attitudes. While learning about informal organization, they can overcome reticence and guilt about manipulating people. While learning to balance the needs of conflicting interest groups, they learn about managing personal conflicts. When university experiences include the

perspectives of humanism, philosophy, anthropology, rather than concentrating on the technical aspects of administration, aspiring women get opportunities and tools to manage career-role strain.

The university can provide tangible proof of career decision-making. When a woman pursues her doctorate, the commitment, training, and testing strengthens determination to succeed. Further, the "Doctor" title is an easily recognizeable signal for them and for those around them that old patterns of behavior (homemaker, sex object) should not be assumed. The doctorate gives an inner security and an outer protective armor.

While the university may provide socialization support, women must still develop a presentation of self that neutralizes the amount of disturbance caused by their being in administrative careers. This often requires that women erect barriers or buffers around their sexuality. Women's hesitation to acquire the career woman image (as when Ms. Wilson said, she disliked being seen as "that kind of woman") is due, in part, to the necessity to minimize their sexuality. To reduce the impact of their being different from most other administrators, and to reduce the ambiguity of intent that exists whenever men and women are together, women neutralize their sexuality. Mrs. Hayes recalled that she used to dress older; Dr. Gold made it a point to never wear jangling bracelets.

Women who would share organizational space and tasks with men had to give clear signals that their sexuality would not upset the (male) administrative team or threaten any man's career or marriage. A serious, task-oriented manner, more formality in appearance, displaying a supportive, secure husband, staying aloof from joking and flirting--are ways that women cultivate an image so that sexuality will not be a disruptive factor.[6] Ms. Murray was confused by sexuality issues. She said she liked to think she could successfully use "feminine wiles" as well as professionalism yet she was undermined by "those Title IX jokes". She noticed that, when the other Vice Principal was upset, he invariably took it out on her and the secretary. By maintaining her feminine wiles, she maintained male-female relation patterns in which she could be dominated. She resists transition processes that require supressing sexuality.

When the career environment has formal structures which legitimate male-female interaction, the ambiguity of intent is lessened. Where formal meetings and training workshops establish working relationships between men and women, or where other professional women have paved the way, the sexuality barrier is less salient.

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[6]Women are older than men when they enter the administrative career. (Gross and Trask, 1976) This may be, in part, because they must wait till aging makes others see their sexuality as less threatening.

In all of these examples of transition processes, we can see that women are confronting barriers, creating techniques to re-define roles or devise substitutions. The examples have illustrated some of the barriers, the confusion, and the gradual development of techniques to manage female career-role strain and to gain access in a male sex-typed career.

During the transition process, women learn behaviors to compensate for their deviancy in a male sex-typed career and to make others comfortable with their inclusion. They change appearance and mannerisms, they learn to adjust to the injustice in the system. Their behaviors are parallel to those of handicapped people who are trying to make others comfortable with their inclusion.[7] Successful women administrators display these behaviors, laugh about it, then get on with business. The self-definition acquired through transition includes the ability to take on roles in order to meet goals. No full discussion of women's career socialization should ignore the processes of learning to take on roles.

Transition processes are interesting, but the salience of the processes are indicated when the concepts of transition are analyzed and applied to the subjects in this research. (See Figure 6)

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[7]Erving Goffman (1963) describes how stigmatized individuals seek to fit into "normal" society with behaviors aimed at making "normals" comfortable.

The importance of transition is brought home when one looks at the implications. When the subjects were placed in categories of culturally defined, transition, and self-defined, only self-defined women attained high positions in school administrative careers. Transition is a special socialization process necessary and fundamental to women's mobility.

Women administrators who aspire to or who fill higher positions in school administration must go through transition--organizational policies which aim to support women's career progression must neutralize the impact of organizational and self-sent barriers to transition.

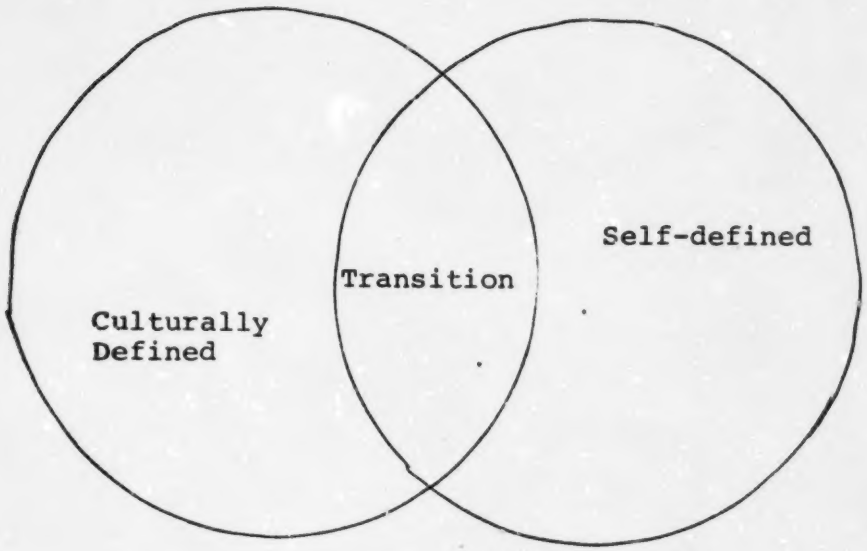

FIGURE 1

Women's Career Progression

FIGURE 2

Components of Role Definition

	Culturally Defined	Self-Defined
Self-sent roles		
Behaviors and attitudes	passive, child-oriented; giving, "feminine," etc.	individual; retaining some cultural, adding new
Source of learned social roles	female socialization	created and discovered during transition
Source of rewards	feedback from society	self-assessment on own criteria
Organizational roles		
Position, orientation	teacher, in a job	chosen position, probably administrator, in a career
Source of learning for role	female and organizational socialization	created and discovered during transition
Source of rewards	feedback from society	self-assessment on own criteria

Figure 2 illustrates the difference between culturally defined and self-defined women. The gap between the two categories is huge. The socialization processes of transition link the two categories. This illustration of the huge gap between culturally defined and self-defined indicates that transition is a powerful change process.

FIGURE 3

Source of Transition Barriers

O = derived from organizational structures and expectations

S = derived from self-sent expectations which are a product of female socialization for pre-transition women.

BARRIER	SOURCE
Unequal access to informal socialization	O
Criteria for success in male sex-typed	O
Lack of shared roles with other administrators	O
Extra testing	O
Male resistence and exclusion	O
Neccesity to distance self from teachers	O
Neccesity to distance self from other women	S
Child orientation expectations	S
Community involvement expectations	S
Husband-wife relationship	S
Sexuality-administrative behaviors "unfeminine"	S
Sexuality-stereotype of career woman	S
Sexuality-de-sexing required to gain entry	O
Sexuality-GASing, assertive goal setting "unfeminine"	S
Alternative roles are highly rewarding	S

FIGURE 4

Attributes which Accentuate Barriers

O = Organizational structures and attributes

S = Societal and personal attributes

ATTRIBUTE	LOCATION
Pressure to get doctorate for mobility	O
Ambiguity in job responsibilities	O
Few women in administration	O
Distasteful organizational realities	O
Joking and flirting	O
Neccessity to evaluate and boss others	O
High conflict	O
Inflexible role definition, insecure colleagues	O
Significant males need the "women behind her man" type	S
Community and family pressure to devote self to motherhood	S
Young, attractive appearance...accentuated if single	S
Over protective friends, family, co-workers	S, O
Culturally defined roles highly rewarding	S

FIGURE 5

Attributes which Neutralize Barriers

O = Organizational structures and attributes

S = Societal and personal attributes

ATTRIBUTE	LOCATION
Task learning for leadership roles in other organizations	S
University task learning, testing, recognition, challenge	S
University learning about interpersonal relationships	S
Opportunities for teamwork - learning prioritizing manipulation, and strategizing	S,O
Organization appreciative and needing the type of experience or qualifications the woman has	O
Advice and learning about organizational norms	O,S
Sharing organizational space and getting advice in organization	O
Successful children, support services	S
Community supports; understanding career women, support services	S
Husband wife relationship supportive or undemanding	S
Child orientation fulfilled; children grown	S
Job requirements that can be integrated with female roles	O
Flexible competency-based criteria for administration	O
Well-defined job expectations and responsibilities	O
Being forced into mobility by organizational draft	O
Being forced into mobility by economic necessity	S
Reinforcement of professional woman role	S,O
Formal organizational environmen which reduces ambiguity of intent	O
Role models and linkages with other career women	O,P
Social life which builds self-image and support	S

FIGURE 5 (cont'd)

ATTRIBUTE	LOCATION
Formality of law or superiors backing decisions	O
Formal workshops on interpersonal relationships	O,S
Opportunities to see other administrators' imperfections	O
Symbols of authority, i.e. title, office.	O
Symbols of expertise, i.e. Ph.D.	S
Symbols of separation from other women, i.e. dress	S

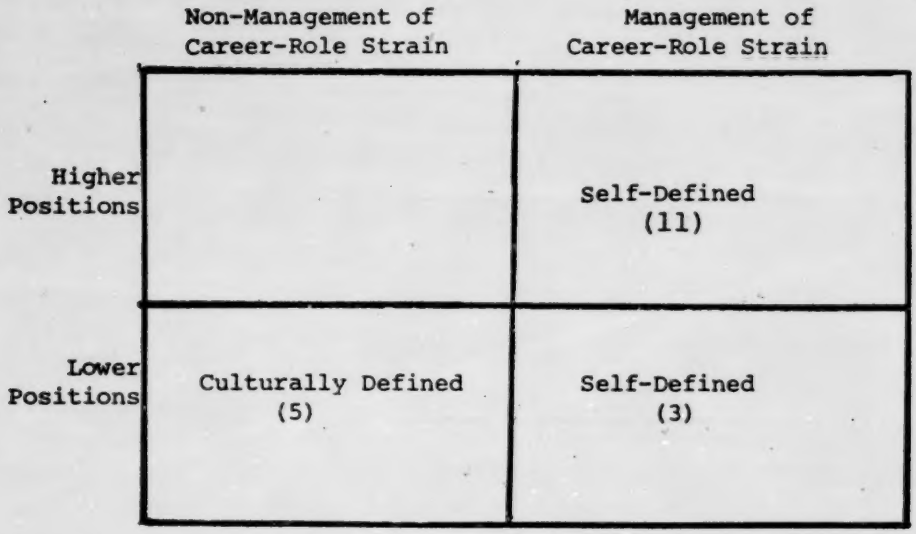

Figure 6

The Relation of Female Career-Role Strain Management to Career Mobility

When women develop career-role strain management techniques during transition, their mobility to higher positions is facilitated. No subjects among the 25 women administrators were culturally defined and in higher positions. The five culturally defined women were Elementary Principals and Coordinators. Of the fourteen self-defined women, eleven occupied higher positions such as Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, Curriculum Director, Personnel Director, High School Principal. Two self-defined women were Elementary Principals, and another was a Dean in a high school. The remaining six subjects were transition women who held positions such as Elementary Principals, Assistant Vice-Principal in a high school, Coordiantor.

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